1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 463 618 621 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 292 513 554 558 784 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kwn*, or perineal band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 512 788 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10 and saying *Sawi* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Ōn*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,[1] and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

[1] I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvali-kartmokh*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
793 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.
834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottiin*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

They live in villages called *mands** (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

" A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three " of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the " calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped " construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or " doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is " not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid " slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to " entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so " arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the " height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other " openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress " and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, " to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling " is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, " and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with " thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before " and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the " pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains " the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is " sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. " On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, " and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform " is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation " on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of " firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops " of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by " a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. " The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo " measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two " empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

" Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose " stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 13 × 10 " feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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* Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mortt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 833 little say in the matter. Whether this is generally true of other Toda households, I cannot say, not having studied them in such intimate detail as the Melgarol (people from Melgarsh). It was Erzigwuf who would decide which of the three brothers, Mutnarsh, Kuddhue, or Munbokwutn, she would have with her for the night. She usually slept with [732] [845] [787] the eldest, Mutnarsh, and while I was in the Nilgiris would have nothing to do with Kuddhue because he being a cripple, she feared that he was the cause of her having twice given birth to twins (an evil omen with the Todas). I rarely saw the youngest, Munbokwutn, join her; so much even, that I enquired once if he ever slept with her. To which I got the reply that if he did not, he would not stay. Erzigwuf's predilection for Mutnarsh was due to her preferring him, I felt, because he had the strongest personality. He was also the eldest which, even if it did not prejudice the common wife in his favour, did undoubtedly contribute to give him the assurance and poise which attracted her.

833 I enquired which was the usual position in which these people had coitus, and heard that it was that in which the woman lies on her back with the man on top of her, between her open legs. Only the inhabitants [186] of Malabar "do it the other way round", I was told, not without a certain amount of amused sarcasm. I also heard that copulation never [352] [515] took place, and should never do so, on the *ertülkh*, the raised earthen platform which serves as a bed and seat inside a Toda *arsh*. But as I received contradictory information on this point (others assuring me that it was, on the contrary, just there that couples made love), the latter should be accepted with reservation.

842 [171] No kind of birth control is practised at all, as is generally the case all over India. This is, to a large extent, due to ignorance, and where this is not so, to religious convictions, the former of these two reasons being probably dominant with the Todas. It is so in spite of a very 831 active and varied sexual life of both sexes within the tribe, something which strikes even an untrained observer at once. Toda women, I was told by Kanvarsathi, "think of nothing else (than sexual intercourse), escaping whenever they can into the *sholas* to copulate with men of their choice". Emeneau has recorded in *Language and Social Forms: A Study of Toda Kinship Terms and Dual Descent*, p. 173 (see Bibliography), that the Todas are "vigorously and adventurously sexual". He also says, further on: "Ordinary marriages within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *to:tjoff* (*terershtl*) institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity." He goes on

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbökwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiarox: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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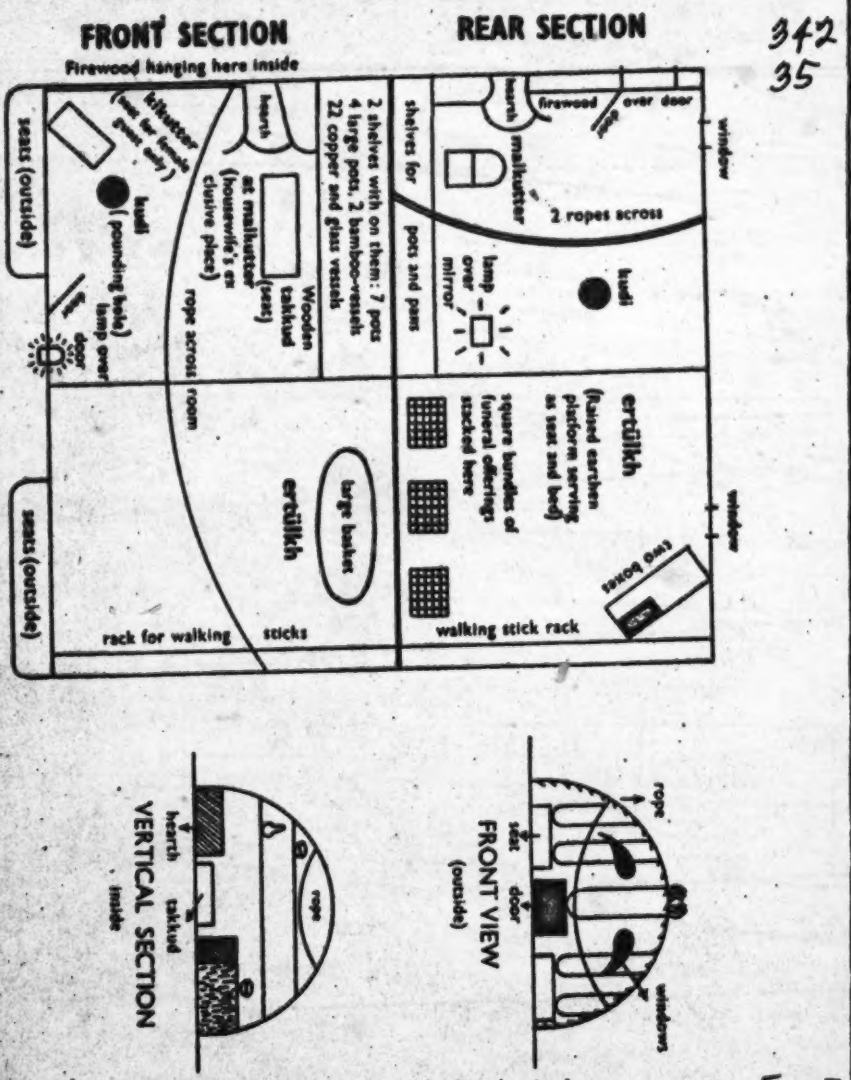

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Nalsirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülkh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülkh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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513]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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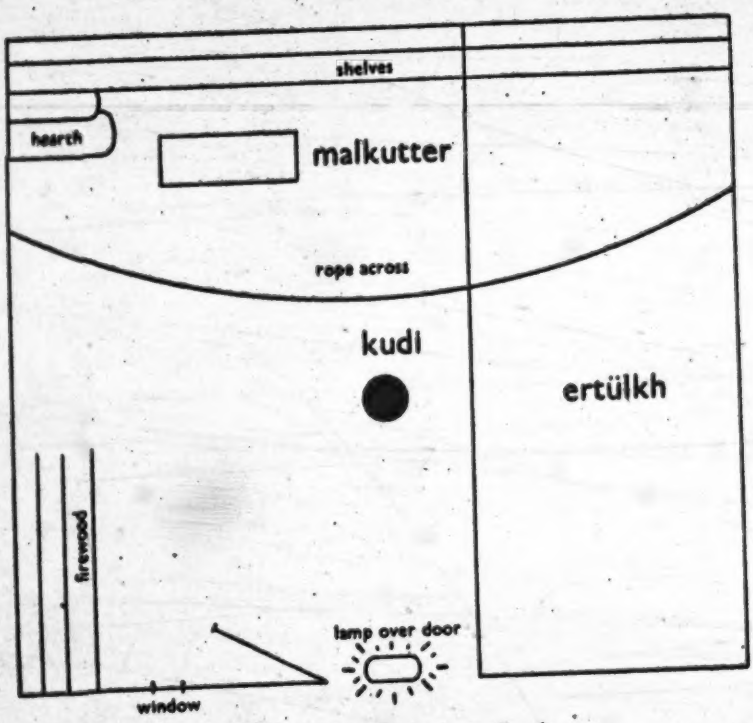

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Pudharsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhiivowutn, Nārshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mods. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple.

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[513]